603 is concerned, as little as its reciprocal owing to his age, for when his grandchildren are growing up he will be as old as his own grandfather when he himself was a child.

[587] Kipkatam in this diagram is too old, decrepit, and blind even to notice his grandchildren, and he cannot therefore keep an eye on them when their mother goes to the shamba. In fact, all the men of this generation whom I saw among the Dorobo were too old to do anything for their grandchildren, though in certain cases grandmothers are able to give a good deal of help to their sons' wives, since women are usually younger than their husbands, [588] even if the disparity in age is but small.

Between a man and his relations by marriage, behaviour tends to 606 be much more formal and intercourse to be more restricted, than between blood-kindred. A man is not supposed to converse with his wife's father, in whose presence he must watch carefully his speech and actions, though he may greet him when they meet; if they should happen to be together, the son in law should sit about out of respect. Before marriage, however, a man may visit the parents of his intended bride to make the necessary arrangements with her father. With his wife's mother a man should have nothing to do at all; he should not only refrain from speaking to her, but should go out of his way to avoid her, both if he meets her out of doors and if he finds her in a hut. This rule of complete avoidance is usually relaxed as he grows older, and the time comes when he may even sit and talk to her, as Arap Mining did to the mother of his second wife Cepkamuren. Relations between a woman and the mother or father of her husband, however, are of necessity different. She may have to live with them, or at least in close proximity to them, whereas her husband may seldom come into contact [591] with her parents; and therefore she cannot be expected to avoid her husband's parents. Her attitude to his father is one of respect due to a senior, with such converse as is inevitable when two people have to live together, and with a certain amount of familiarity arising from the fact that the old man may be in need of physical help from her. Her relations with his mother are greatly affected by her children and the consequent need for co-operation between the two women in seeking their welfare.

609 Between a man and his wife's brother and his wife's sister and her husband, there may be what the Dorobo call *wosiet*, "play", which means that they may greet each other, make fun of one another, and behave in fact in a normal friendly manner; but there must be no lewd talk, dirty jests, or sexual allusions. Between him and his wife's brother's wife, on

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

terms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, fitted into the existing culture pattern and were thus voluntarily adopted. The Nandi, not being bee-experts, none the less desire honey; not being hunters, they desire furs; the Dorobo being both bee-keepers and hunters can supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped in the transmission of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact that having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralist and retain the outlook of the hunter.

2. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the horde is controlled by two institutions: the clan and its council, and the *kowt* council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the *kowt* organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain horde-unity by bringing together clansmen from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the *kowt* council is more political and less domestic, regulating the district as a whole irrespective of clan.

If behaviour and kinship are the basis of social life, the clan is the basis of horde-cohesion and government; and it is in regard to the importance attached to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper but less easily defined significance); but to the Dorobo the regulation of public life as a whole depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements, by the clan councils, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect rather than on the totem-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity crosses the *kowt* boundaries, and is the main factor that keeps the horde together under conditions which would render powerless any institution less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper[1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. People tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-sets senior to the age of the *murenik* who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi; though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Anthropos 46, 1951, pp. 38-41.

/333 cont./ As there, the tanned hides are sewed into articles of clothing with an awl (mwemwey) and a thread twisted out of animal tendons (ang). If a number of hides for which, at the moment, one has no need for one's own use has piled up, a few old men with women and children, laden with skins and also maybe salt, set out for a neighboring area. Where the distance between this and the Wandorobo camp is such that it permits frequent trade, these caravans appear at the regularly held markets. If, however, they are able to come only rarely, they peddle their wares, inasmuch as, out of ignorance of time reckoning, they do not wait for the market days. They readily find customers, since both articles are very much in demand. The agriculturist principally dependent on a vegetable diet always needs salt, but he can only rarely extract it himself, since as a rule the arable soil contains no salt or such not in sufficient quantities. The need for hides /334/ is also often greater than the local production, even today when fabrics have largely replaced the leather clothing. After protracted haggling, an agreement is finally reached, and the Wandorobo, satisfied, set out for home with the bartered vegetables. If the hunting was sometimes particularly lucrative or if an elephant or rhinoceros was killed, part of the meat would also be sold to the always meat-hungry agriculturalists. Many of the latter, for example, the Wataita and Wakamba, also buy the meat of predatory animals from the Wandorobo, where dietetic & allegation, and therefore, in trading, they use each piece for small and tame.

Old men, who only now and then in the evening lie in wait for game at a watering place, devote themselves outside the camp especially to the chopping and supervision of the beehives (Fig. 8), a large number of which hang within an hour's range. These are wooden tubes 130 centimeters long and /Fig. 8 appears here/ 30 centimeters thick, with an interior breadth of about 15 centimeters. They are made by hollowing out a correspondingly long piece of tree trunk, a very arduous task because the tools are so primitive. After the trunk, through boring with an ax, appears circular in cross-section and tapered at both ends, it is smoothed on the outside with a knife (seuleng). Two instruments are used for the hollowing out [i.e., among the Masai--Amelpet]